

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a
favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena
nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'),
used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the
same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

[73] It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country
will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy
will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one
accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed
salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old
lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch
the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[612] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the
banishment of the couple for a few years to different places
outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law
had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs;
the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's
sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

- 684 1. This is a direct conse-
692 quence of the fact that
under the influence of the
administration these offenses
were always very lightly

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punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

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Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

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A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadaŋ Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkungan [circle].

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to

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Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368 [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaeng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 • 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaeng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaeng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e., literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaeng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so.

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone.

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place.

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61) --Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced.

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had

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563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

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793 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal.
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212 In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state